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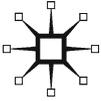
Parliament and Diaspora in Europe

By Michel S. Laguerre

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Abbreviations

Adfe-FdM	Association Démocratique des Français de l'étranger— Français du Monde (Democratic Association of French Citizens Abroad)
CGIE	Consiglio Generale degli Italiani all'Estero (The General Council for Italians Abroad)
Com. It. Es.	Comitato degli Italiani all'Estero (Committee of Italians Abroad)
CRC	Communist, Republican, and Citizen Group
DS	Democratici di Sinistra (Democrats of the Left)
HDZ	Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica (Croatian Democratic Union)
HINA	Hrvatska izveštajna novinska agencija (Croatian News Agency)
MP	Member of Parliament
PdCI	Partito dei Comunisti Italiani (Party of Italian Communists)
PS	Parti Socialiste (Socialist Party)
SDP	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party—SDP)
UFE	Union des Français de l'étranger (Union of French Citizens Abroad)
UMP	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (Union for a Popular Movement)

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Preface and Acknowledgments

Diaspora parliamentary representation has been an object of long-standing debates and controversies as it is at the center of liberal understanding of participatory democracy and citizenship practices. Viewed as necessary at the normative level, the implementation of such a policy is growing on a worldwide basis, despite logistical impediments related to cost, transportation, security, immunity, sovereignty, or even disagreement of hostland governments over allowing foreign elections to be conducted inside their territories. A number of factors have contributed to making diaspora parliamentary representation more attainable, and therefore more desirable, including the post-World War II period during which emigration to foreign countries became a widespread phenomenon around the globe; the decolonization and independence of new nations, which transformed ethnic minority populations living in their midst into diasporas; the emergence of Eastern European states after the collapse of the Soviet Union; the incorporation of European nation-states into the European Union (EU); the multiplicity and expansion of airlines routes and cheaper fares; and the information technology revolution.

While in the past some countries, such as France, accommodated parliamentary representation for their colonies and protectorates, they were not ready to expand the same privilege to their diaspora populations. More recently, as states slowly began to allow this practice, they initially found themselves with no model to emulate and no experience in this arena of transnational politics. Within this context, political engineering has become an ideal form of experimentation in the cross-border politics of diaspora parliamentary representation. This study tracks the genealogy of the process as it unfolded in Croatia, France, and Italy, and examines how it now operates in each polity. These legislatures were selected for this investigation because diaspora parliamentary representation in each case has become an intangible reality.

France was selected because of its former colonial and overseas territories, which invites an analytical distinction to be made between *colonial* and *diaspora* parliamentary representation. While a colony is a cross-border expansion of the homeland territory, diasporization refers to homeland citizens taking up residence in a foreign and sovereign state squarely located within the jurisdiction realm of a hostland. The traditional principle of parliamentary representation in the homeland based on territorial residence cannot, therefore, be justified. It must be derived from a different principle, based on extraterritorial residence in a foreign country. Italy is considered here because of the uniqueness of its trajectory “from an emigration to an immigration country”¹ and the exceptional distinction of being the first to implement such a policy of diaspora representation in both the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies at the same time. The singularity of Croatia, with its unicameral parliament and continuing opposition of political parties over this policy and practice—elected representatives have come exclusively from the same political party, the Croatian Democratic Union (Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica, HDZ)—distinguishes it from both the French and the Italian cases.

As a result of its transformational role in relation to the state, its citizens abroad, agencies of government, geographical space of jurisdiction, and the redefinition of the nation inclusive of its diaspora, diaspora parliamentary representation has become a problem in need of theorization, a practice in search of an explanation, a process awaiting deconstruction, a political arena embedded in network and global currents, and a locus around which multiple voices of the dispersed nation coalesce.

Diaspora parliamentary representation is not a widespread phenomenon yet as it is a form of legislative practice available in only a few European countries, such as France, Croatia, Italy, Portugal, and Macedonia. It is, however, slowly expanding to include countries in Latin America (Ecuador and Colombia) and Africa (Algeria and Mozambique). Some countries (Dominican Republic and Panama) have passed laws to that effect but have not yet got around to implementing them. The continuing formation of diaspora communities—coupled with the global awareness of rights of representation as a basis for inclusion and democratic participation—augurs well for more countries to follow the trajectory of diaspora parliamentary representation. It is but a trickle now, with the possibility of becoming a mighty stream later.

This book transitions the discussion about transnational diasporas to a new level, *from an emphasis on bifocal identities and cross-border*

individual and organizational practices to an analysis of state-level institutional dynamics and the institutionalization of cosmonational structures. Hence the rationale for the establishment of cross-border infrastructures that create stability, sustainability, and permanence. In this light, the analysis argues that the diaspora are connected to each other and to their country of origin not only because of their interface with family and friends left behind; the development projects they manage in their hometowns, which requires financial assistance from compatriots living in other countries; and transactions with homeland institutions, but also structurally, by being putative citizens of the state and entitled to serve in the homeland parliament if elected to represent a diaspora circumscription or even a homeland circumscription as it happened once in Croatia. What is slowly emerging is an integration of structures—with state agencies functioning equally for the benefit of both diaspora and homeland residents. Here lies the distinction that underlines the transition *from a transnationalism of individual and collective practices to a cosmonationalism of agency, structure, and infrastructure.* In this paradigmatic shift, state institutions are seen as being transformed into cosmonational entities.

Understanding the social matrix of the cosmonation then becomes imperative. What is a cosmonation? A cosmonation is a cross-border cultural collectivity of people claiming the same ancestry and comprising both the homeland population and diasporic communities dispersed across the globe that maintains attachment through mutual support and diverse forms of extraterritorial interaction, collaboration, and organization that is developed for the purpose of enhancing its social reproduction. Cosmonationalism, both as a method of intervention and a theory, underscores the *logic of the ensemble* (homeland and multiple diasporic sites in interaction with each other)—rather than the *binary logic of transnationalism*—as the global context in which various aspects of social action can be deciphered.

The slow rise of the cosmonation-centric state indicates a new trajectory in the choreography of world affairs, with vast consequences for the present transitional global system of nation-states. The focus of this study on diaspora parliamentary representation provides an opportunity to begin analyzing these processes, identifying their outcomes, and spelling out their ramifications. In this evolving context, diaspora and parliament have been reconceptualized to become operational instruments of the cosmonation.

Although a few nation-states have adopted the practice of diaspora parliamentary representation, they have done so for different reasons,

reached the same outcome through different paths, attributed different meanings to it, and operated under different circumstances. In addition, diaspora parliamentary representation does not have the same value everywhere it is allowed and practiced. With Italy and France, for example, it is truly a major effort to close the gap between diaspora and homeland in terms of representation in parliament, while in the Colombian case it is more symbolic than reflective of a deeper engagement of both state and diaspora because of the small size of the cohort of representatives, a grand total of one.

In the cases of Croatia, France, and Italy discussed in this volume, diaspora parliamentary representation fully occurs in the context of the EU integration and is seen as a way of including the diaspora within the cross-border nation; such an integration would be perceived as incomplete without formal incorporation of diasporas. Diasporas themselves fought to be included since they would also be affected by the homeland integration into the EU. In light of this interpretation, one concludes that countries join the EU not simply as nations but rather as *cosmonations* that include the homeland plus its diaspora and overseas territories, if any. While European countries have done so in the context of the EU, thereby providing access to EU citizenship to their diasporas, Latin American and African countries have done so to uphold citizen rights, lure diaspora entrepreneurial investment in the homeland, and gain long-term benefit from remittances sent by their diasporas.

The research and writing of the book has been a work of collaboration with several individuals who understood and appreciated the value of the project and offered or consented to help along the way. Although I am unlikely to remember them all, I am nevertheless indebted to the following diaspora legislators, four sitting parliamentarians who have served either in the French Senate, the Italian Senate, or the Croatian Sabor, for lengthy interviews: Senator Richard Yung, member of the Commission des Lois Constitutionnelles, de Législation, du Suffrage Universel, du Règlement et d'Administration Générale and also a member of the Commission des Affaires Européennes; Representative Ivan Bagarić, MD, chairman of the Parliamentary Committee for the Croats Living Abroad; Senator Basilio Giordano, member of the Commissione Agricoltura e Produzione Agroalimentare and Vice Presidente Comitato Italiani All'Estero; and Senator Robert del Picchia, vice president de la Commission des Affaires Etrangères, de la Défense et des Forces Armées.

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legislative assistant to Senator Richard Yung; and Giuseppe Matteo, legislative assistant to Senator Esteban J. Caselli and Senator Basilio Giordano for their contribution to the project. The staff of the Hrvatski Sabor Knjižnica (Croatian Parliament Library), Kristina Grošek and Anamarija Nejašmić; Bibliothèque du Sénat (French Senate Library), Isabel Girardot; Biblioteca del Senato della Repubblica (Italian Senate Library), Carla Spurio Pompili; and Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati (House of Representatives Library), Filippo Vignato, were very helpful in identifying documents and arranging for me to interview legislative assistants and government officials as needed for the research.

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Portions of this text were presented to various scholarly audiences including the annual meetings of the Southwestern Political Science Association held in Las Vegas, Nevada, March 16–19, 2011, and the American Sociological Association in Denver, Colorado, August 17–20, 2012. I am grateful for the questions and comments offered by the attendees.

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This book on the cosmonational parliament is the first of a trilogy on the diaspora question. The second volume on multisite nation and expanded state and the third on the postdiaspora condition are forthcoming.

MICHEL S. LAGUERRE
Paris, France
June 2012

Introduction: A Parliament Reflective of the Nation and Its Diaspora

Since the end of World War II, there has been an incremental movement toward granting dual citizenship rights to overseas constituencies, allowing voting abroad, and facilitating diaspora parliamentary representation in homeland national legislatures.¹ This new development in the evolution of the nation-state—requiring an amendment to the constitution—has been prompted by massive immigration flows from the global South to the global North, the entrenchment of diasporic communities in hostlands, and the continuing and forceful intervention and participation of emigrants in homeland affairs. The social intermingling of the diaspora with the homeland population—through disbursement of remittances to family members, sporadic visits, daily practices of cross-border organizations, political participation in party politics, and financial contributions to development projects or initiatives in diasporans' former residential villages, towns, or hamlets—is a crucial factor that has contributed to the reassembling and reconfiguration of the homeland parliament, reflecting the reality of the dispersed population of the expanded nation.

Diaspora parliamentary representation has been harder to realize in the domain of everyday practice than dual citizenship, dual nationality, and voting abroad have been. Since the end of World War II, very few countries—Algeria (1996), Cape Verde (1995), Colombia (2002), Croatia (1995), Ecuador (2002), France (1948), Italy (2006), Mozambique (2004), and Portugal (1976)—have been able to implement such a policy, even after legal barriers have been lifted.² The hesitation to translate national constitutional law guaranteeing parliamentary representation into transnational practice is often hampered by cost, logistical issues, diaspora ideological leanings, host-country objections, size and geographical spread of the diaspora, and country parliament history.

Four countries in the European Union (Italy, France, and Portugal, and Croatia—whose application for membership in the European Union was granted in 2012) have functioning national parliaments with diaspora representatives.³ In France, diaspora representatives have served in the Senate since 1948; in Italy, they have operated in both the Chamber of Representatives and the Senate since 2006; in Portugal, they have held membership in the parliament since 1976. In Croatia, they were in the House of Counties and the House of Representatives between 1995 and 2001, and in the unicameral parliament since 2001.⁴

There has also been an evolution in the number of diasporic candidates allowed to serve in homeland parliaments. In France, the constitution at first set the number of diasporan senators at three, and gradually the size of the cohort grew to six and then to twelve.⁵ Beginning in 2012, diasporan deputies have also served in the *Assemblée Nationale* (National Assembly, or House of Representatives). The number of diasporan representatives in Italy's Chamber of Representatives and Senate has remained at twelve and six, respectively, in the short time that the country has had this policy. After independence in 1991, the Croatian constitution reserved 12 seats for diaspora representatives.⁶ This was later converted to any number between zero and fourteen, depending on voter turnout. The latest amendment to the constitution in 2010 fixed the number at a maximum of three diaspora parliamentarians. The number of diaspora parliamentarians entitled to serve in the Portuguese parliament has been set at four, with diaspora within Europe and outside of Europe each represented by two parliamentarians.⁷

To be precise, this study singles out for investigation the inscription of diaspora representation in three European national parliaments, namely the French Senate, the Italian Chamber of Representatives and Senate, and the Croatian unicameral parliament. I hope that a comparative analysis of these institutions will lead to a greater understanding of the contributions the diaspora representatives and senators have made to the governance of their homelands and to the welfare of the diaspora through the laws they develop, the policies they endorse, and the initiatives they sponsor.

This book analyzes the unfolding of a new institutional phenomenon: the cosmonational parliament of the cross-border nation and the expanded state. It also aims to accomplish three analytical goals: first, to show how the national parliament has been transformed into a cosmonational parliament—homeland and diaspora evolving into a single transnational social formation—thereby unveiling its mixed memberships, transnational mandate, and transboundary features; second, to

examine the extent to which this expanded parliament has formally contributed to the rise of the cosmopolitan; and third, to discuss the policy implications for countries involved in such formal transglobal parliamentary practices.

Research for This Book

The research for this book was carried out in three phases. The project began at the University of California at Berkeley, where I reviewed the available literature on diaspora representation in homeland parliaments through the use of various databases and by accessing an array of parliamentary Web sites. In the second phase, I spent two months during 2009 in Paris, Rome, and Zagreb, interviewing diasporan parliamentarians and their staffs, and also engaging in archival research in many libraries, including those of the national parliaments. Conducting research in the Hrvatski Sabor Knjižnica (Croatian Parliament Library) and the Migration Library of the Croatian Heritage Foundation in Zagreb, the Bibliothèque du Sénat (French Senate Library) in Paris, and the Biblioteca del Senato della Repubblica (Italian Senate Library) and the Biblioteca della Camera dei Deputati (House of Representatives Library) in Rome granted me an opportunity for deeper understanding of multiple aspects of the diaspora representation issue, either by finding new material or through exposure to new interpretations from the politicians and office administrators whom I interviewed.

I commuted between Rome, Zagreb, and Paris during the months of May and June 2009, a period of intense political campaigning inside the European Union leading up to the European Parliamentary elections (June 4–7) for 736 seats representing 27 countries. In Rome, I interviewed the Italian legislative assistant to Representative Amato Berardi, an Italian American diaspora parliamentarian and permanent resident of Pennsylvania. She discussed his legislative activities of the previous year and addressed logistical issues pertaining to his frequent trips to his electoral district or overseas constituency, the handling of his two staffs (one in the United States and the other in Italy), campaign procedures and practices abroad, the needs of his multicountry and widely distributed electorate, his activities as the chairperson of the National Italian American Political Action Committee and as a cofounder of the Foundation Italiani nel Mondo, and his aims to strengthen ties between Italy and the Italian American community at large, to facilitate cultural exchanges between communities, and especially to establish educational exchange programs.⁸ After the interview,

she graciously escorted me to the ground floor for a professionally guided tour of the parliament.

The interview with Senator Basilio Giordano in his parliamentary office in Rome was substantive and covered issues pertaining to public campaigning in North America, the Canadian government's reaction to this new development, parliamentary representation of the diaspora without taxation, immunity in foreign lands, legal jurisdictions over campaign frauds committed abroad, multiple trips abroad to visit his overseas constituency, and his long-term legislative agenda for the Italian diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean, which he represents in the homeland parliament. A permanent resident of Montreal, he preferred to hold this lengthy interview in French.

A substantive and useful interview with the director of the Giunta delle Elezioni della Camera dei Deputati (Elections Division of the Chamber of Deputies) and the head of the Servizio Prerogative e Immunita della Camera dei Deputati (Privileges and Immunity Office of the Chamber of Deputies) provided additional information on the constitutional history of the overseas electoral process, immunity, and the question of whether to tax diaspora parliamentarians. Although there have been discussions in diaspora newspapers concerning electoral frauds in certain diaspora circumscriptions, these issues were often resolved at the electoral district level and, therefore, not formally reported to the Privileges and Immunity Office for further investigation and resolution.

Another lengthy interview with the director of the Servizio Rapporti Internazionali Camera dei Deputati (International Relations Office of the Chamber of Deputies) accompanied by her legislative assistant shed light on the role of diaspora parliamentarians as members of parliamentary committees and interparliamentary cooperative committees, and their working relationships with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in reference to the countries of their electoral circumscription. As MPs (members of parliament), they serve at times as intermediaries between the governments of their homeland and hostland.

After completion of fieldwork in Italy, I arrived in Zagreb on the eve of Croatian Statehood Day, celebrated on May 30. The sounds of the loud concert at the Ban Jelačić Square, the center of the festivities, attracted a large crowd of onlookers, including visiting tourists. This was my introduction to a segment of Croatian social life in post-Communist Croatia before I began field research in the parliament. During the three weeks I spent in Zagreb, I read published and archival materials on the history of the multiparty parliament and on the elected members of the

diaspora caucus. Additionally, I spent a large portion of research time at the Migration Library of the Croatian Heritage Foundation.

Members of the Croatian parliament were very interested in my research and extended extra help for the success of the project. A former editor in chief of *Madica*, a magazine published by the Croatian Heritage Foundation, was able to arrange an interview for me with MP Ivan Bagarić, who represents the diaspora in the Croatian parliament in Zagreb. For the interview, he brought one of his advisors on immigration issues, a former member of the Croatian diaspora in Australia. For almost two hours, we discussed the history of diaspora representation in the parliament, the specific issues he is grappling with, and the set of diaspora laws that the parliament has been developing to provide a legal framework for Croatia's relations with its diaspora.

The content of the parliamentary debate that led to the inclusion of a clause recognizing the right of the diaspora to be represented by diaspora parliamentarians they elect was recounted to me by the director of HINA (Hrvatska izvještajna novinska agencija, or the Croatian News Agency), a major news agency in Zagreb. This veteran journalist has covered parliamentary debates since Croatian independence and has an outstanding grasp of the positions of political parties on various issues. This interview greatly helped me to understand the post-Soviet-era context.

My two-hour interview with Senator Richard Yung (Socialist Party), a French diaspora parliamentary legislator, was held in San Francisco in spring 2009. He was visiting the diaspora electorate in California to support the campaign of candidate Edouard Mayoral (Socialist Party), the director of the Lycée Français International in San Francisco, who was seeking reelection to the Electoral College of the Overseas French. Senator Yung elaborated on his various trips abroad to meet his constituency across the globe, his legislative activities in the Senate, his maneuvers within the Socialist parliamentary caucus, and the recent law that allows the diaspora to be represented in the Assemblée Nationale (House of Representatives) starting in 2012.

In Paris, I had a focused interview with the director and assistant director of the Secretariat de l'Assemblée des Français de l'Étranger (Diaspora Electoral College Administrative Office). Both explained the minutiae of the voting process during the most recent election of diaspora senators by the Diaspora Electoral College, and discussed the rationale of the Diaspora Day, an event instituted by the Senate, identifying the offices involved in its organization and the kinds of officeholders and invitees who participate in it.

A substantive interview with Jeremy Kinsman, the Canadian ambassador in Rome during the negotiations between the Canadian government and the Italian government concerning Italian Canadian diaspora representation in the Italian parliament, placed the debate in its historical and sociopolitical contexts. He was able to observe the trajectory of the debate not only during his assignment in Rome but also in the London embassy, where he later served, and as the Canadian envoy to the European Union. His discussion, based on his participation as a go-between diplomat, focused on the necessary involvement of the Canadian Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Immigration, and Ministry of Justice in influencing such a policy outcome, as its ramifications were likely to touch on Canadian laws concerning immigration, public campaigning, jurisdiction, security, immunity, and taxation.

In the last phase of the research process, I spent another month in Paris during the legislative elections of June 2012, in which 11 members of the diaspora were elected to serve in the *Assemblée Nationale*. For two hours, I interviewed Senator Robert del Picchia—in the magnificent red-carpeted lounge of the Senate, where he introduced me to an outgoing cabinet minister of the Sarkozy government—to get his reactions, interpretations, and comments on his role in parliament; the elections of the representatives from the diaspora; and the politics, policies and parliamentary debates that led to the cosmonationalization of the French Parliament.

The Plan of the Book

The merging of homeland and diaspora, which results in the formation of an expanded and cross-border nation, has contributed to the transformation of the national legislature into a cosmonational parliament governed by representatives from these two segments of the population. The book analyzes the deployment of diaspora representation in homeland parliaments in its various forms and compares this deployment in three European national settings in an effort to explain the multiple dimensions of this new cosmonational parliament model.

Chapter 1 presents a theoretical framework that lays out the foundation, parameters, and contours of the object of study. In doing so, it defines the boundaries and content of the cosmonational parliament as a transnational social formation. Through a focused review of the literature, it assesses the theoretical and substantive issues raised in the debate about the relationship between parliament and diaspora, seen as a subset of the larger literature on globalization. The variables that contribute to

the formation of the cosmonational parliament are spelled out to justify the rationale of the approach. Thus, chapter 1 frames the concept of the “cosmonational parliament” in order to distinguish it from the reality and context of the “national parliament” because their parameters and relationships to the homeland state and the diaspora are vastly different. In this light, the cosmonational parliament, comprising both homeland and diaspora-elected members, is positioned as an institution that exemplifies the merger of both diaspora and homeland in the governance of the cosmonation. The cosmonational approach is further delineated to explain the rationale of using such a frame of analysis in explicating the mode of operation of a diaspora-embedded state institution.

The modalities of diaspora representation in the Italian parliament, both its Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, are the focus of chapter 2. Since 18 diasporic candidates (6 senators and 12 deputies) are elected to serve in the parliament and represent the interests of the overseas electoral districts, the chapter examines the cross-border legal regime under which they operate, the production of cosmonational laws by the parliament, and the transnational form the parliament takes in terms of its composition and the policies it develops. The chapter further analyzes the cross-border support structure that facilitates cross-border governance, overseas electoral campaigns, and party distribution of diaspora parliamentarians. Since diaspora parliamentarians do not routinely pay taxes to Italy, the chapter discusses the “representation without taxation” debate to unveil the logic of the practice in the context of Italian politics. It shows how the external circumscriptions can deliver a swing vote at a critical juncture to replace a government, as it occurred in the elections of 2006. It further examines the nature of the relations between diaspora parliamentarians and parliamentarians of Italian origin in foreign countries, on the one hand, and their different relations with hostland governments, on the other.

An examination of diaspora representation in the French Senate is the subject of chapter 3. Since 1948, a small group of parliamentarians representing the interests of the diaspora have served in the Senate. This chapter documents the history of this practice in France; analyzes the transnational expansion of the legal regime that allows, facilitates, and makes this possible; unveils the role of the diaspora electoral college; and discusses the deployment of electoral campaigns undertaken by diaspora parliamentary candidates abroad, including the forms they take in different countries and the constraints imposed on candidates by hostland governments. The chapter further discusses the relations of diaspora senators with their overseas constituencies in terms of travel patterns,

campaign publicity, voting abroad, and the use of information technology. It explains how diaspora parliamentary representation is both similar to and different from parliamentary representation of residents in either the Hexagon or the Overseas departments. Unlike the Italian diaspora parliamentarians, who represent specific geographical circumscriptions abroad, each French diaspora senator represents the entire French diaspora. In this model, the world is their electoral district.

Chapter 4 examines the transformation of the national Croatian parliament into a cross-border institution. This multiparty, unicameral parliament includes a small contingent of diaspora representatives. Diaspora parliamentary representation began to materialize in Croatia in 1995 and is dominated by members elected from Bosnia-Herzegovina, where the greatest portion of campaign activities took place. The chapter presents a brief history of Croatian emigration, the countries where the diaspora settled, and the needs of the different waves as seen from the perspective of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and as reflected in the services the diaspora request from the homeland government. It unveils the cross-border legal parameters as shown in the constitution and the electoral law that regulates campaigns, overseas voting, and modalities of representation, and discusses party distribution of diaspora representation. Additionally, it analyzes travel undertaken by diaspora representatives to meet with constituents to be informed of their needs and to seek their votes during electoral campaigns, and it presents views of proponents and opponents on the diaspora taxation issue and discusses the history of the parliamentary debate on diaspora representation. Moreover, it explains why and how the cross-border parliament is a key institution in the operation of the Croatian cosmonation.

Chapter 5 discusses the shift from ethnic politics, to diaspora politics, and then to cosmonational politics with a focus on the expanded parliament of the cross-border nation. In doing so, it analyzes aspects of the French cosmonational debate over diaspora parliamentary representation, eligibility requirements for candidacy for a seat in parliament, districting politics to carve out diaspora circumscriptions, campaigning abroad among the diaspora electorate, voter turnout, the use of information technology in reaching out to constituencies abroad, diaspora parliamentarians' contributions to the legislative process, and profiles of diaspora voters and parliamentary candidates. The chapter further examines the slow but steady proliferation of diaspora inclusion in parliament outside of the Eurozone.

The Conclusion discusses the specificity and peculiarity of the cosmonational parliament model and further compares various aspects of

its implementation in Croatia, France, and Italy. In the process, the role of hostlands in facilitating, inhibiting, or neutralizing the deployment of foreign electoral activities in their territories is also examined. Extraterritorial expansion of political party activities is analyzed in the context of party affiliation of diaspora candidates for parliamentary seats and parliamentary caucus. The Conclusion further explains how the cosmonational identity of the parliament is choreographed through the expression and performance of Diaspora Day, an event that the French Senate cosponsors annually, in which both homelanders and diasporans celebrate their common ties to the global nation.